

# ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE LINCOLN  
CELEBRATION OF THE CITY OF ALLEN-  
TOWN, PENNSYLVANIA, FEBRUARY  
TWELFTH, ONE THOUSAND NINE HUN-  
DRED AND NINE : : : : :



To Daniel Fish with  
the regards of  
J B Oakleaf  
Oct 1910

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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On this memorable day, in company with the millions of American people, have we gathered. One are we in our purpose to do homage to him who was "new birth of our soil, the first American." Our historians have searched the records anew and weighed in careful balances of critical judgment, his deeds, his life, his character. Our orators have fitly framed in flowing forms their tribute. Perhaps some poets will sing their paeans. But we have come, not to discuss the historians' result, not to be swayed by poet's song, nor orator's praise, but that in the contemplation of his life we shall be better Americans. It still behooves us in our day, with our problems, to mark the immortal words of Lincoln himself, and "to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead," and may I add, especially from the great martyr President, "we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Out of the people, their very flesh and bone, came Abraham Lincoln. His birth is of all American leaders the lowliest. On February 12, 1809, at Big South Fork of Nolin Creek, Hardin, now LaRue County, Kentucky, in a cheerless, wretched cabin, he first saw the light of day. His father, Thomas Lincoln, an improvident, shiftless, roving squatter, always seeking land on which he could live without much labor, had no ambition for himself or his children. His mother, once fair, lost her charms and became hardened by the unending dreariness of toil and care. What avails it with such parentage to trace back the Lincoln name to New England? Every ancestor found, furnishes no clue to show that heredity has contributed anything of value to the making of Abraham Lincoln.

Still less did his early surroundings help little Abraham. They were squalid, poverty-stricken and low. Nor did they improve when Thomas Lincoln moved into a malarial section of Indiana with a few tools and cooking utensils, hardly any bedding, but with four hundred gallons of whiskey, to live for a while in half a cave until a cabin was built, which had neither floor, door nor window. It was only after the death of Lincoln's mother that, with the arrival of a step-mother, there came some light into the cheerless life. Through a woman's thrift and energy, the seven-year-old dirty, ragged boy began to see a little more of the decencies of life. But the community in which he lived had rough, coarse manners, low ideals and measured men by feats of brute strength. In such an environment, education counts for nothing. All of little Abraham's schooling was a few weeks with one teacher in Kentucky, a few weeks with another and a few months in Indiana; in all, scarcely a year. Is it surprising that one of Abraham's first compositions reads:

"Abraham Lincoln, his hand and pen;  
He will be good, but God knows when?"

And yet, with no incitement, there was in Abraham a deep desire for knowledge. He became a self-made man, not by despising education, but by seeking all he could obtain. On a wooden shovel, for paper was an unheard of luxury, Abraham learned to cipher and to write. The limitations of the shovel helped to teach him brevity of expression. He sought all the books that could be gotten. Few they were, but they were well studied. The Bible presented the high ideals of holiness, justice and love, and formed the foundation for simplicity of language; Aesop's Fables developed the native gift for story-telling; Robinson Crusoe gave suggestions for self-help in the isolation of uncultured life; Pilgrim's Progress added its power to the Biblical ideals and was the first dawn of romance upon a young mind, which romance received its American tints in the highly colored life of Washington by Weems. What Lincoln had imbibed, was early applied. While still a lad, he would deliver speeches before those who labored with him. This, of course, was disapproved of by the father, who laboring little himself, expected all the more work from Abraham, whom he hired out. Young Abraham had to learn in hard toil to plough, clear fields, dig ditches and split rails. Where this was the ideal of work, Abraham's love for speaking, his desire to learn could never be appreciated. But, nevertheless, he devoured every book he could find. Often he would crouch in a corner of the cabin, or lying under a tree in deep absorption, he would be

giving himself to the increase of knowledge. In this constant pursuit he contradicted altogether the ideals of his surroundings, in which rough manual labor was considered worth while striving for.

It is true that in other respects he was still of the soil. Often in the early rude gatherings he would use his knowledge and wit in some rough satire, or some coarse story. But in all this he was simply learning the life about him and becoming the leader and master of those with whom he associated. In dress, Abraham Lincoln never overcame his early influences. When a raw-boned youth of six feet four, with long arms and legs, he was clad in deerskin trousers that shrank and left a fringe of skin above his shoes. One suspender was carelessly strung across the home-made shirt. His head was covered with a coonskin cap in the winter, and a straw hat of indefinite age in the summer. As a lawyer, he was characterized "as a long, lanky creature from Illinois, with a dirty linen duster for a coat, on the back of which the perspiration had splotted wide stains that resembled a map of the continent." In his later days he walked about with the ubiquitous old umbrella tied with a string, and often, when in his own room, in the White House, he was clad in a calico gown and old slippers. Though Abraham Lincoln passed from Kentucky jeans to store clothes, and finally to a dress suit, his frame seemed more like a peg on which clothes were hung, than a man that was dressed. Yet, in this matter of dress, that showed the influence of his surroundings, there was nothing affected; it was perfectly original. It were well if we had more original men, even if they were not so well groomed. But when it came to deeper things that touched moral issues, young Lincoln, who might tell rollicking stories, and who, like others, would stand his own in physical prowess, was independent. In that whiskey-drinking community where whiskey was the daily drink, Abraham Lincoln always felt a repugnance. He not simply delivered speeches on temperance, but opposed the violent drinking by his consistent abstinence.

In the setting of an intellectual ideal, Abraham Lincoln was not the child of his environment, as he was not the creature of his heredity. It is necessary in this age, when men are made simply the sum of surroundings and birth, and especially in contemplation of the birth of Darwin, which falls on this very day, and has its high value for thought and life, to realize that the laws of necessity in sub-human life, when they touch human life are only a partial and not the whole truth. No world-view is fully consistent with the facts which denies this. But of paramount importance to us is

the fact, that the plus and power of personality affect the foundations of democracy. If a man can no longer raise himself above environment and heredity, democracy has essentially failed, and it is needless then to maintain the free right and prerogative of all. If the advancement of our social life, and if the better facilities for education only mean that a man is simply equal to them and no more, then faith in the innate possibility of character will go for nothing. But it is only by such faith that we can absorb the complex elements coming from every land into American life. While it is true, indeed, that Abraham Lincoln's superiority is partly unique, yet it is also partly typical, and must remain typical, if true democracy shall stand and flourish.

The awakening of Lincoln came at the age of 19, when he first went down the Mississippi on a flat boat. Later he repeated this journey, on which seeing a slave auction, his heart bled and the iron went into his soul. For several years he lived in New Salem, Illinois, served as a pilot on a steamboat, and as clerk at a store; but success was not his. Compelled to fight a band of rough fellows, Lincoln, single-handed, stood his ground, and showed that abundance of courage which won the respect of the ruffian crowd. When the Black Hawk War broke out, Lincoln, then but 23, was made the captain of that ruffian band. Discipline was at times not easy, but Lincoln held control over his men and valorously preserved the life of an Indian who had strayed into the camp. The Black Hawk War did not prove Lincoln's hill of San Juan to the Legislature. He was again thrown into the struggle for existence and set up a store; but Lincoln's partner drank and he pored over his books, and then the store was sold for debt. Now Lincoln became surveyor, and was appointed postmaster of New Salem, but the mail was so large that he literally carried the post office in his hat. The income from the post office and from surveying was so lucrative that Abraham Lincoln's surveying instrument, his horse and saddle, were sold by the Sheriff. Lincoln never had any financial ability, nor any business talent. He seemed at this time destined simply to exist and to be just another example of the shiftless Westerner of that time. But somehow as he failed, he climbed. His early desire for knowledge, and his moral principles were his inalienable capital. Spurred on to new ambition, he borrowed a grammar to improve his language, obtained a Blackstone, and studied law. After some little practice before a Justice of the Peace some decisions at wrestling matches and horse races, in which his natural keenness and fairness made him respected, the way was opened to new opportunity; for Lincoln was three times elected to the Legislature of Illinois—1836-38-40.

With true Western enterprise and with no compunction, he helped to vote large sums for improvements, and boasted that he had assisted in the removal of the State government from Vandalia to Springfield. Uneventful as that legislative activity was, still on one occasion, that same Abraham Lincoln, who had single-handed fought the ruffian band, recorded a protest against a pro-slavery resolution when followed by but one man.

His political influence increased his law practice and soon he removed to Springfield and became a lawyer, who made his mark by his power as a pleader. When he took a case on the basis of its justice, his arguments produced conviction because they were given with the directness of his own character, and when he defended the innocent, his position for the right made him as an angel with a flaming sword. He rode the circuit, read while traveling, told funny stories to lawyers and judges in the small hotels, sat around the stove in the country store, and thus well known, grew into the affection of his people.

It was about this time that Lincoln embarked on the venture of matrimony. Saddened by the loss of his first love to such an extent that he nearly lost his reason, he was ensnared by a new affection and proposed to ambitious Mary Todd. It is well known how he, uncertain of the genuineness of his attachment, failed to appear when the wedding day was set; but later he married Mary Todd. In this affair a lack of the social amenities and the natural clumsiness of Lincoln betrayed him into an alliance which was not deeply happy, although the regard of Lincoln for the "old woman" grew as years went on.

In 1846, Lincoln was elected to Congress; criticised President Polk for having forced war on Mexico; aided in the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia; voted for the Wilmot proviso to exclude slavery from the territories acquired from Mexico; but when his term expired in 1849, he was not re-elected. He sought, but did not gain the place of Commissioner of the General Land Office, and Mrs. Lincoln would not allow him to accept the offer of territorial Governorship of Oregon. And so again, when Lincoln appeared to be climbing the political ladder, he apparently failed, and returned to his law practice in Springfield. When, however, the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 opened a new phase of the question of slavery, and the North was profoundly stirred and the Republican party sprang into being, then did Lincoln's time come. It came in the celebrated debate with Judge Douglass. Judge Douglass sturdy, strong, and a great natural orator, able as a debater, forceful in appeal, claimed his place

to lead the day. He attempted to please both North and South. In his construction of popular sovereignty, slavery was not to be legislated into any State or Territory; but it could not be excluded by the decision of the Dred-Scott case, in which the Supreme Court claimed it to be a right guaranteed by the Federal Constitution to hold slaves as property. Judge Douglass was in a contradictory position, and it was Lincoln who finally uncovered and forcibly thrust home this contradiction. Apparently in the beginning of this great contest between Lincoln and Douglass, Lincoln was at a disadvantage in having delivered a speech at Springfield, June 16, 1858, in which he said: " 'A house divided against itself can not stand.' I believe this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South." His friends advised against this open prophecy, whose abuse they foresaw, but Lincoln's unbound spirit and adherence to principle made him strong. He knew, however, that Douglass was aiming for the Presidency, and he well says in his speech of July 17, 1858: "All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, charge-ships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they can not, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedy anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages all, taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principle alone." It was principle when in a letter of July 28, 1856, now possessed by Col. Trexler, Lincoln writes: "Stand by the CAUSE, and the cause will carry you through."



It was the truth of this principle in which by debate after debate in a serious strain, he carried forward the contest, and brought out the irrepressible conflict, willing rather to be defeated than to be victorious with slavery. He riddled the inconsistency of Senator Douglass' popular sovereignty; he emphasized the application of the Declaration of Independence to the rights of all men, while disavowing any attempt to force the Southern people to abandon slavery, or to make whites and blacks socially equal. He advised the deportation and colonization of the negroes. As the contest progressed, with fine strategy, he finally forced Douglass to express his opinion as to whether despite the Dred-Scott decision, the people of a territory could in any lawful way exclude slavery prior to the adoption of a State Constitution. Douglass' answer was foreseen, viz: that slavery can not exist in a territory unless the people desire it. But answered Lincoln, "If Douglass so answers, he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth 100 of this." Lincoln showed how absurd it was, if slavery were admitted to the territories on the basis of the Dred-Scott decision by the Federal Constitution, to suppose that it could be kept out by an inferior law. Douglass was re-elected to the Senate, yet his resort to the doctrine of unfriendly legislation, which was an inconsistent evasion, at last cost him the Presidency.

With this contest really won, though apparently lost, 1860 soon approached. The Democratic party in its nominations split along the lines of North and South. In the Republican nominations it seemed as though Seward, who had been in a large measure the creator of the party, would be nominated, and an able second in the race appeared in Chase. But it was necessary to win men of every type, and as Seward had been very outspoken in his anti-slavery policy, and as, in his public career, by his directness, he had made enemies, it seemed dangerous to nominate him. According to these same considerations Chase also seemed an impossibility. At this crisis Lincoln, who had appeared at once determined and cautious, and whose debates with Douglass had shown his power, was chosen. Still many men of the East had their grave doubts as to the fitness of the choice. And while in his Cooper Union speech Abraham Lincoln had delivered one of the most masterly political orations ever heard, strong in the laying of its historic foundations, clear and cogent in its conclusions, yet his odd personality and poor antecedents, seemed to make men uncertain. And when he was elected and finally entered upon his office, it seemed as though he must fail, as he so often had. Many of the forts were already

in the hands of the South. Officeholders who had no sympathy with the North had well used the time before Lincoln's entrance upon his office. Great disorganization marked every branch of the Government. In the Cabinet that was selected, consisting of divers men of divers temperament and political past, the strongest leaders felt that they must guide the policy of the inexperienced President. Seward proposed a scheme of conciliation with the South and a severe stand over against the European nations. But Lincoln mastered Seward in this exceedingly foolish procedure. Chase never learned to regard Lincoln, and always was restless, and later Stanton began to oppose Lincoln with his forceful independence. How could a man with such a Cabinet succeed? And yet by determination and quiet tact, Lincoln fused these elements, and even when acquiescing, ruled. From without came strong criticisms because action was not taken at once. The Abolitionists said that Lincoln was dallying with the circumstances. They held that his inaugural was too conciliatory, and they failed to see, in his attempt to win back the South with kindness, his determination when he said: "You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I have a most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it." At last the call to arms was sounded, and among the first were patriots from our own city, who preserved and carried forward the traditions of their fathers. But when action became necessary, how great were the difficulties. In the West Fremont caused disturbance by his unwise and rash policy. In the East, McClellan hesitated and hesitated; precious time was lost; expenses of two million dollars a day were piling up; an inferior army was holding a strong army in abeyance; and great was the fear that the Capital was threatened. Could all fail? Lincoln attempted to mediate between criticisms on the one hand and on the other, and yet at last, by patience and perseverance, by compromise and independence, the real generals for the struggle were developed, and the war led from victory to victory, until at the second inauguration the victorious election of Lincoln showed the success of his administration. Then, when the war was fast ebbing to a close, when the struggle was about to cease, when the heavy burdens seemed ready to be lifted, came that last dastardly act which tore away the beloved President from his people.

And what, now, are a few of those traits which contributed to his greatness, which are his constant message to the American people, and his value for the present? Undoubtedly he possessed a great mind, which first asserted itself in the great Douglass debate. Meeting a man who had

exhaustive knowledge of our political history, deep grasp of political problems and their management, large insight into the shifting currents of popular favor, and who possessed affability as well as dignity, Lincoln with a much smaller historical grasp, yet met Douglass with a wonderful power of argument. Although he disclaimed being schooled in dialectics, still he possessed a clear and cogent logic, an incisive and direct power, coupled with a living fervor. His language was simple, pure and chaste; his style terse and strong, rising in some of his later utterances into classic proportions; and with all this he had an understanding, as no one else, of the mind of the people. In his earlier addresses, story and parable well served him, but in later life he used these rather in meeting direct personal emergencies; and his public utterances, from the day of the Douglass debate, grew in dignity while they lost nothing in clearness and simplicity.

But there was a greater power in Lincoln's argument than merely his logic and his style. Over against the smooth tortuousness of one schooled in parliamentary tactics, Lincoln preserved—and this was constant with him—a deep sincerity and truthfulness in his argument. His argument had the essential moral quality of honesty.

If Lincoln were to be called "Honest Abe" only in that narrow sense which we too often apply to it, we might question whether it was with him a real virtue. To a man with so little financial ability, who failed in business, who went the first time to the Legislature and to his first inauguration in clothes for which he borrowed the money, to a man, in short, to whom money did not seem a powerful reality, it could be no strong temptation. And yet even in this particular, Lincoln is a lesson to us, showing us that one of the greatest tasks of the Government was at its heart performed not of money, by money, or for money. Great essential problems of a nation, as of an individual, must be solved even along economic and commercial lines by a greater motive than economic wisdom and commercial insight. Money is but means; the men behind the money and their character are the real power.

Lincoln's honesty meant inherent honorableness. As he was honest with himself, so was he honest with men. In his law practice he would not take a case which offended his conviction of an honest defense. This same soul of honor he ever remained. It became necessary in his administration in meeting men of all traits, not to be without tact and shrewdness, and in these Lincoln was not lacking. At times he avoided a difficulty when he was asked to overcome some decision of a Cabinet officer by the reply:

"I have no power with this administration." And yet, withal, there was no Machiavellian deception about Lincoln or his policy. He possessed the old virtue of straight-forward honesty, which ought to be the virtue of the typical American. In our greater prosperity, and in an age whose problems are becoming more and more economic and social, we have run into the danger of undervaluing this fundamental virtue of honesty. But it must abide as one of the mainstays of our real liberty; it must remain the essential element of our life; and woe to the day when "Honest Abe" shall cease to be the ideal of American life! He must ever be our exemplar.

"Full of the honest truth which makes men able,  
Wise, pure, firm, just:—  
The noblest Roman's state,  
Became not more a ruler of the free  
Than thy plain life, high thoughts, and matchless constancy."

With deep honesty, Abraham Lincoln possessed a wonderful sense of justice. It was spoken out of his very soul, and in view of eternal justice, when, toward the close of his second inaugural, he said:

"The Almighty has his own purpose. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it shall continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' "

The ring of these words is like that of an ancient prophet. Such was Lincoln's high sense of justice, which as it recognized the evidence of final justice in the events of the nation, itself bowed before that eternal justice. Justice and honesty were the ideals of Abraham Lincoln,<sup>v</sup> and yet in the carrying out of justice in the policy of a nation, Abraham Lincoln was not

radical; he was not of the type of John Brown. While he realized early in his life the wrong of slavery, he still felt that this wrong could not be suddenly done away with. Of slavery he said; "We deal with it as with any other wrong, in so far as we can prevent its growing any larger, and so deal with it that in the run of time there may be some promise of an end to it. We have a due regard to the actual presence of it amongst us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. I suppose that in reference both to its actual existence in the nation, and to our constitutional obligations, we have no right at all to disturb it in the states where it exists, and we profess that we have no more inclination to disturb it than we have the right to do it. We go further than that; we don't propose to disturb it where, in one instance, we think the Constitution would permit us." His thought was that there should be a slow process of emancipation, and while he grew more emphatic as he realized the many selfish money interests that hid behind constitutional rights, yet he was not ready to act of himself. He felt that the problem ought to be settled, peaceably if possible, and with the counsel of the whole people. He says: "The people of the whole nation agree that this question ought to be settled, and yet it is not settled; and the reason is that they are not yet agreed how it shall be settled. All wish it done, but some wish one way and some another, and some a third or fourth, or fifth; different bodies are pulling in different directions, and none of them having a decided majority are able to accomplish the common object." But at last, when it became abundantly evident that action was imperative, he acted. This delay was not due to that dilatory strain which we sometimes observe in Lincoln; it was simply his fine sense of fairness that made him hesitate. At the beginning of his administration he was criticised by such Abolitionists as the editor Horace Greely, the poet Whittier, and the preacher Moncure Conway, and a host of others. But at last, when the hour had come, and the Proclamation of Emancipation became effective as a great war measure, Lincoln was not found remiss. In this soberness of adjusting the national problem to the demands of fullest justice, Lincoln remains to be admired even to-day. There is danger with us in our faster way of living, that we attempt great reforms instantly in those periodic fits of morality which the American public is subject to. Carrie Nation is only a somewhat extreme type of many reformers to-day. There is a lack of understanding that a condition, unjust as it may be, can only be removed by the gradual education of the moral sense of the whole people, and that the righting of a great

wrong ought not to be accomplished in a rapid way by doing many minor questionable acts. Abraham Lincoln ought to be our type in the settlement of the problems of intemperance, as well as in the economic question of capital and labor. Neither punitive law, nor the "big stick" are the true weapons in the questions of justice for all and toward all. On the other hand, indifference and apathy, that cease to educate and agitate, are deeply wrong.

Abraham Lincoln was so careful in the question of justice because he was so deeply convinced that whatever was done should be done by way of the law. In one of his very early speeches, delivered before a Young Men's Lyceum at Springfield, in 1837, he well emphasizes the necessity of respect for the law in these burning words: "Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of '76 did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor—let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in the schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in the primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in all courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars." With this high veneration for the law, Lincoln met all emergencies; he felt at all times that law was to be the power. If we are convinced that liberty and law are inseparable, we must testify against the secret evasion of the law by powerful commercial combinations, and against its open defiance by labor trusts. The fiery words of Abraham Lincoln must remain our program if America is to be the "land of the free and the home of the brave." If personal preferences and claims are to be regarded, selfishness will bring destruction, for equality will be injured and with it freedom. But if all are to have consideration in their individual desires, order and law must cease and anarchy reign. The counter-part of law is respect for authority and obedience. Let these be taught as the real foundations of government in every home and every school!

Respecting the law and constitution, Abraham Lincoln also rightly kept his place as Executive of the Nation. He did not press forward his power against the legislative bodies, and he thus defines his position: "By the Constitution, the Executive may recommend measures which he may think proper, and he may veto those he thinks improper, and it is supposed he may add to these certain indirect influences to affect the action of Congress. My political education strongly inclines me against a very free use of any of these means by the Executive to control the legislation of the country. As a rule, I think it better that Congress should originate as well as perfect its measures without external bias." The same regard which he had for the legislative branch of our Government, he maintained toward the judicial. While the Dred-Scott case led him to oppose making a single decision a political ruling, and while he held that the people were to be finally the forum, yet he declared and emphasized this truth: "I do not forget the position, assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decisions may be erroneous in any given case, still the effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice." In this balance which he kept between the co-ordinate branches of our Government; in the fact that he did not press forward executive rights, when as in a war the temptation was great, shows the sanity and the broadness of Abraham Lincoln which ought ever to be remembered. Whatever may be the faults of the legislative branch, they are not remedied by an over-assertion of executive rights, and by executive pugnaciousness. And greater than the rights of Congress must remain the inviolability of the judiciary. Without it, sustained as it is, by a high and honorable record, our national machinery will lose its great balance wheel. In the view of what the Supreme Court of the United States is, it must be deprecated that there is a new construction being put upon executive power. Whatever may be the delays of the judicial decision, the American people can, and dare never suffer the adjudication of great problems, and their individual application, to be assigned to the rights of an executive alone, no matter how able such executive may be.

But finally, Lincoln's greatness consists not simply in his great mind, his

deep honesty, and his high sense of justice, but largely in his great heart. It was this great heart which made him so unselfishly generous. Through it he overcame the proud assumptions of Seward; by it he dealt fairly with Chase, even though he could never win him, and though Chase used his Cabinet position to prepare for a campaign against his President. Lincoln's revenge was the appointment of Chase to the bench of the Supreme Court. He suffered with great loving patience all criticisms and misunderstandings for the good of the cause. It was upon his great heart that he bore the problems of the Nation. His wit was but the relief occasionally sought in that great sadness which rested upon his brow, shone from his deep-set eyes, and bent his mighty frame. He was not self-consciously, as McClellan had hoped to be, the saviour of the Nation, but he bore the sacrifice. He offered and spent his life and entered with his deepest feelings into the sufferings of the people. Sacrifice was the final power of his greatness. Nor did he simply have a heart for issues as issues; but he went out in abundant love and pity to the humblest of the American people. He felt for and with the soldiers on the battlefield; he knew the tears of the mothers at home; he realized the devastated home in the South; and more and more his heart went out to his people. They felt that in very truth he was "Father Abraham." It was not his mind, nor his high moral qualities but this great love for men that is the deepest secret of Abraham Lincoln's life.

Well may

"We rest in peace where these sad eyes  
Saw peril, strife and pain;  
His was the Nation's sacrifice,  
And ours the priceless gain.

O, symbol of God's will on earth  
As it is done above;  
Bear witness to the cost and worth  
Of justice and of love."









